because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive. 212

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all [177 191]

[291 643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

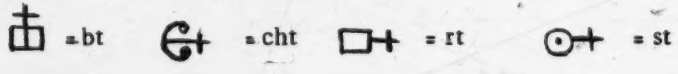
[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

[212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212]  = bt = cht = rt = st

/63/

## II
## Economy

### Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
463 (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
567 gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaṛen*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
191 immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaṛen* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
144 negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
142 Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaṛen* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaṛen* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

361 *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W' Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
144 n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
565 europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as
567 Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineḍen* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
162 a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementiț in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



177 [191] [192] The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages. 177 184 They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

# Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures.

## TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution.

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation.

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Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chamba* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco. These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan